1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

782 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited; and when sacred lineage hearths (*tse ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

437 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are [820] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

462 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*ahang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

776 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from
777 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some
[829] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

account for some of the "visions" leading to individual acquisition of personal spirits. These spirits are of many different types. Loku and timang are the commonest inspirational familiars of seers. Ia-wari (literally means moon-sun; also called sisala) are inherited and are usually nonpersonional. They serve in a variety of "good fortune" capacities. Nera are primarily wealth-bringing spirits and are associated with the sea, frequently manifesting themselves as fish, crabs, crayfish, and eels. One person's familiar may be another person's evil spirit (*kari*, a generic term).

The whole countryside is populated with *gemii lari* whose good or evil influence depends upon the personal relationship established with them. They are all reasonably well known within a radius of two to four miles and are called by personal human names, usually paired. These couples are either siblings or spouses. They may be represented by carvings all of one type, a crocodile-like figure called nags in Malay. These carvings may be erected on a pole, placed on a platform-like altar, or kept in the loft of a small shed.

There are also "Good Beings" (*nala kawg*, which literally means something good) associated with either the sea or the sky and envisaged in human form. Persons who have disappeared mysteriously or, in rare instances, children who have been lost may be invested with the qualities of Good Beings. The bulk of what the Atzinelanger considers his mythology deals with such supernaturals, who are sometimes thought to be lineage ancestors. There are many contemporary anecdotes of prophets who predicted the imminent advent of Good Beings. The disappearance of disease and of death and the financial obligations accompanying it are usually part of such prophecies. This whole concept will undoubtedly become the center of revivalistic cults when Alorese culture crumbles as it inevitably will under the impact of foreign colonization.

There is also the village guardian spirit (*alemai*), a being whose attributes are vague and confused but who is connected somehow with the dark area in the Milky Way and whose presence and good will insure crops and wealth for the village. This spirit is often equated with a vaguely conceived supreme being called Lahatala, which is probably a word of Mohammedan origin, and with the Christian God, called by the Malay term *Tuan Allah*. It is represented by a large crocodile-like carving similar to the smaller ones made for all kinds of personal familiars. The village guardian should receive sacrifices every year or two—at which times an expert is called to search him out where he lurks somewhere underground near a dance place and drag him to the carving where he is to be fed. The responsibility for this ceremony

li:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

776 782 rents with the eldest male of the founding lineage of the village, but the whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

778 615 782 769 Sacred hearths of various types (*ara fobo, tue ara, mami ara, fe ara, huya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be harvested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series [264] of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Boi (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784 Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires [268] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the 224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

769 782 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uti*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*pining*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rilpada. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*nala hang*; literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1919 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are far

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

167 from lacking in stubborn persistence, but when an issue has been definitely defeated, they are ready to give it up.

●776 Good Beings are thought of as human in every respect except for their miraculous powers, among which is their ability to revive the dead and to travel through air and water. Human beings who disappear are often suspected of having become supernaturals of this sort. About 1933 four young men were drowned when a boat capsized near the coast. Only three bodies were recovered. In 1938 it was believed in some circles that the one whose body had not been found was now a Good Being and was inspiring the prophecies of a five- or six-year-old girl (page 778.). This motif of people's disappearing rather than really dying, and then being transformed into Good Beings is quite common in the myths.

[778]

[773]

To give an idea of the type of Good Being tale three condensed myths follow.

Maisinghai and Dry Land Women

773 Maisinghai went to the coast with his six brothers, who deserted him there. He went to sleep so hungry that he chewed the fringe of his shawl. As he slept his mother and father appeared to him and told him how to get food and how to avoid a village of cannibals on his journeys. When Maisinghai awoke he followed his father's instructions and reached the village boundary of Farik, a Good Being. Farik's two daughters met him and reported to their father that the stranger resembled him. Farik, fully armed, went to meet Maisinghai and was convinced of his good intentions. He invited the young man to sit on his verandah and ordered his daughters to prepare food. When it was ready Maisinghai was asked to enter the house. As he climbed the ladder, the sisters poured a pot of millet on his head, and he fell back on the verandah, shedding his shroud, burial rope, and maggots. The sisters covered his body with a shawl and the older one sat near his buttocks, blowing on them with a fire tube. The younger sister sat at his head, fanning him with a fire fan. When Maisinghai awoke, the two girls fed him, and Farik ordered Maisinghai to sleep that night between the two women. Maisinghai was obedient but did not have intercourse with them, saying, "You two are good. I am fortunate to have met you, but, my sisters, I shall not embrace you." The girls reported this to Farik, who then ordered Maisinghai to have intercourse with them.

The three thereafter worked together in the fields. After a time the two wives discovered that Maisinghai was not working, but instead stood crying all day at a hole which he had made when uprooting weeds

1:Du Bois E-S (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Finally he freed himself and suddenly found that he was seated on the 773
top branches of a mango tree. He climbed down the tree and was discovered by two supernatural women. As in the other two myths, Farik, the father of the women, was reassured as to his intentions and invited him to the village, where he was revived by the usual millet treatment and the use of fire tube and fan. After his marriage to the two women, Momau began to feel homesick and with the help of his father-in-law went back to the surface of the sea and from there to his own village. His two supernatural wives had been transformed into a conch shell horn and a green glass bottle. These he neglected after securing a third wife in his own community.

A wild pig began to root up Momau's sweet potatoes. He went to guard the field and in an attempt to shoot the animal he was disemboweled. (This is presumably a punishment for the neglect of the two sacred objects, his transformed wives.) The villagers all pursued the pig, which escaped by flying into the sea and changing into a porpoise.

Meanwhile his father-in-law, Farik, disguised as a Kebola man, went to Momau's village and miraculously healed him. The following day Farik transformed Momau into a crow and then back again into human form. Thereafter Momau himself possessed the power of healing severed bodies; this he demonstrated on his dog and child. He was also capable of assembling a shattered ax by simply blowing on it. His third wife was alarmed by these powers and said he had become a witch, whom all would avoid. Momau then turned into a crow and flew back to Farik's village taking with him the first two wives in the form of a conch shell horn and a glass bottle.

MALIGNANT SUPERNATURALISM

All this material on Good Beings represents, on the whole, wishful [154
fantasying about a better world and kinder characters, without quite 773]
eliminating the uncertainty and harshness of real relationships. Al- 776
though Good Beings are usually wonderful and enviable, there are categories of supernaturals envisaged with equal specificity who are consistently malignant.

Witches are among the most concretely visualized of such beings. I 754
very much doubt that anyone in Atimelang is considered a witch or practices witchcraft. However, Atimelangers are convinced that certain villages are witch-ridden, and Kewai, their enemy of the last war, is one of them. Men and women both can be witches; most frequently they gain power over people by inviting them to have sexual intercourse. Then, while the person sleeps, the witch steps over the partner's

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

than hardheaded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut trees are banded with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo collars which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the owner will have a chance to discover him.

Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintentional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a lacework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelanger does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so casually treated bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral strictures. That curses are so impersonal causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kari*, *loku*), wealth-bringing spirits (*nera*), and familiar spirits (*tinuang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every individual has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

or undertaking reminds them that an image should be carved and fed. It was said previously in connection with skills that the carvings of such spirits are usually crudely done, and after the sacrifices they are ignored and often allowed to rot away.

CONCLUSIONS

The attitude toward carvings might lead some people to the generalization that the Atimelangers' attitude is spiritual rather than materialistic, that they worship the essence and not the substance. When we look at all the evidence presented to date, a preferable interpretation might be that the Atimelangers are as exploitative in their relationship to the supernatural as they are to humans and that only a threat of danger makes them placatory.

A linguistic hint concerning their attitude toward supernatural beings may be contained in the generic term for them, good-bad (*kang-berka*), which suggests a parallel to the positive-negative aspects of human relationships. If we consider all supernaturalism as projections of the current attitudes of a group of people plus varying amounts of wishful thinking, we have in the foregoing description of religion an epitome of the modal personality of Atimelang. It is as though the group itself gave us in its religious beliefs and practices at least a clue to those generalizations about personality for which we are searching. Again, this generalization must not be interpreted as characterizing all Atimelangers. Malelaka's autobiography and dreams, and to a lesser extent Rilpada's, indicate that there are individuals who use the concepts of the supernatural for purposes of projecting all their desires for nurturing and solicitous relationships. They call their familiar spirits "friends" and consider them the sources of advice, gifts, and power. In Atimelang I suspect that these are the people who more than any others serve to keep alive religious activities and speculations.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the 556
giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy. 574
It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feel- 573
ing. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the
wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for 578
evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the ne- 426
cessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole
prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so dis-
tributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial
obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enor-
mous amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off
all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the 155
form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to
the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard ag-
gression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react
to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization
is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place.
It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence
of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack
of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one di-
rected by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of
the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive to-
ward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear
of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over
aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due
purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their ag-
gression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears
in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in
childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of get-
ting any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are
given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unre-
strained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and
in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing 776
with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elabora-
tion of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family 769
cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

young corn [*matingate-ateata*], sugar cane, mangoes, or cucumbers. This taboo lasts for three months, and in the fourth month I eat them again. Before eating them I feed my kuya hearth and place on it leaves of all these foods. After that I may eat. My father and older brother died about eighteen years ago, and ever since then I have kept this taboo. The kuya hearth is so called because I keep these food taboos before the Kuya feast. In this feast fire is thrown at a tree, and good crops for the coming year are requested. The kuya are spirits of all kinds of foods. They come from Piningkai [literally, "field head" or "top of the world," to the southeast in Batulolong]. These spirits stay in the sky. Mine are Kuyawa, Takatahafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, and Karilak-Kamaro. When I feed the kuya hearth I say, "Kuyawa, Takatahafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, Karilak-Kamaro, now let me eat my corn, cucumbers, squash, and mangoes and not be sick. May my thighs and my shoulders be strong. May I go running over large level places and long slopes and go straight through without stopping until sweat comes." [The rainy season is considered the season of illness. This sacrifice and supplication is made at the end of the rainy season so that the soreness and stiffness may pass.]

[At this point I tried to get him away from ethnography into personal anecdotes.] When I was still a child, a friend of mine, also called Mangma, asked me to come to his garden and help him build a house. When it was finished I asked him to come to the house I had built in my garden and roast corn. My house was made of slender bamboo. The thatched roof had collapsed, but we hunted rats, roasted corn, and ate there anyhow. At the new corn feast my friend Mangma invited me to come to fetch corn from his garden. The next day his mother cooked it for us. Then we went to my house to eat rats and corn. We said, "Now we can't play for a while, but when the corn work is finished, when it has been gathered and tied into bundles, we can play again." [Question.] This friend is dead now; he died after he married. When we grew up and married we didn't play together any more. We were no longer friends [in the sense of companions]. This friend, Mangma, was also from Karieta.

[How his mother died?] My mother's body swelled up and she died. That was about seventeen years ago. It was the year after my father and brother both died. They all died because we didn't give our Bayorka feast [part of the Tila death feast for ancestors] rapidly enough. We built the altar and didn't feed it. Then the village of Karieta burned down. We built another bayorka altar but didn't feed it. Then these three people died. I was married at the time.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

May 17, 1939

X 159 Last night I dreamed that as I was weeding, a large wild pig came and ate my corn. I called people to hunt it. They chased it as far as Lakamobi's garden, where they killed it. They carried it down to the trail. It was already cut up. They roasted and ate it there on the trail. It had long tusks. The neck they gave to Karfehawa [chief of the village [776] of the dead]. I went with them and I saw Karfehawa's mouth. His teeth were black as charcoal and so was the rest of his mouth. His teeth were long and curved. Karfehawa said, "You have given me a pig and I have eaten. Next time bring me a carabao to eat." I said, "You have already eaten many people. Is that to stop or not?" He said, "Watch your island. When it turns a little, I shall stop eating people. Speak to your village guardian spirit. If he speaks and red rain falls, he has spoken truly. If I speak truly, the world will turn over." I said, "If red rain falls, what will happen?" Karfehawa said, "If red rain falls, hang up your lamp when it is over." I asked, "If the world turns, what will happen?" Karfehawa said, "You are always invoking your village guardian spirit. If he speaks truly, red rain will fall. You have given me a pig; next time give me a carabao." Then I left and suddenly I saw Hamintuku [island of the dead] down below. When I reached our village, there was an official and his wife. They both sat on chairs. The official asked me in our language, "Where do you come from?" So I told him. He said, "We too are afraid of Karfehawa. How is it that you are so brave as to go there?" I said, "Oh, people take me and I just follow." Then suddenly I was up on the mountains of the south coast. I awoke lying on my mat.

[I asked him about Karfehawa's eating humans.] Karfehawa eats the souls that the familiars of seers bring him. Seers' familiar spirits take him souls, but we see only pigs. They are really the souls they have stolen. When a person is sick, a seer comes to sit with him and spits on him. If the seer or his familiar eats well, the person recovers. If not, the familiar takes the soul and gives it to Karfehawa. Familiar spirits are like the soldiers of Karfehawa. The seers know all about this, but last night was the first time I learned of it. [For the red rain Malelaka had no explanation. He did not know what the words "hanging up your lamp" meant.]

After a while I went back to sleep and dreamed again. Then the mountain above the valley made a big noise, and people thought the world was going to turn over that day. All ran to the government camp [one of the places safest from landslides]. Then the mountains slid down and

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

[Long pause. Again he said that he had forgotten much. I suggested that he listen to the thoughts that traveled through his head.] 159x

When I was still small my hair was reddish. Falanata was staying with us. When we fought she called me redhead. I answered by calling her Faleata. [Play on the name of Falanata; *faleata* is the name of a wild plant used as food.] She called me Fankai [a dog's name, a play on his name, Fantan]. We fought; she was bigger than I and clamped her hand over my mouth and hit me. [Pause.] [262]

One time when I was about twelve years old, my father took me to Kelaisi. We went because Atakalieta had come to ask for a pig. When we delivered the pig, he killed a chicken for us and we ate it, but the two legs we saved for a very old woman, grandmother of my mother, called Koleti. We took them to her in Kaminwati. She cooked rice and fed us. She gave us a bunch of bananas and a full basket of areca nuts. We went back to Kelaisi and slept there overnight, and the next day we came home here to Atimelang.

When I was that old I could not go to Makangfokung because if I went there I would die. [He paused to make me ask why.] My father and uncle had begotten many boys there, but they all died. Only the girls lived. Kaloi, the spirit of our lineage house, had killed them; it said that all the male children belonged to it. My two brothers had already died, so my mother and father thought I would die too. Father went to Kelaisi to buy a medicine. He paid a piece of cloth and a moko for it. When he brought it home he killed a pig, a big one, to feed the medicine. After that father could go to Makangfokung, and when I was older I could too. Father went to Makangfokung, put the medicine on a stone, and threw the stone in the house. Then a snake rose halfway from the ground. My father placed some of the medicine on a little stone and held it in front of the snake, and the snake died. Father didn't hit it; it just died. After he had this medicine father could kill the evil spirits that lived in trees and other places. He could burn off spirit abodes, and everything would dry up there. The trees would die and dry up, and with them all the taboo strings. [Fantan had had several "taboo strings" extracted from under his sternum that year.] Manifula is a spirit abode. I placed the medicine there and burned it over. I went up and there were many dead snakes. [How long since you have cut this garden at Manifula? He spoke as though it were in the present.] I haven't cut that place in about six years. It was while father was still alive. He died less than a year after I cut the Manifula garden. 159x 751 761 775 776

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

x159 died. [Stop. This was the first time the informant was not ready to plunge on. I asked what relationship Lonmau was to her. She was the informant's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, i.e., her "child."]

There was a dance at Alurkowati. I, Fanlang, and many others went. Fanlang had already slept with Lonfani, who was married to Senfani of Alurkowati. In the middle of the night that woman's husband came with a sword and struck Fanlang's shoulder, but Fanlang's familiar spirit was with him. [Familiar spirits were generally supposed to sit [774] on the shoulder.] Blood flowed like water. People lighted torches and looked. They brushed away the blood on Fanlang's shoulder, and there was no wound. There was blood everywhere, but no wound. His shield was split in two. Fanlang's familiar spirit told him, "An Alurkowati man has cut my finger. You must call many people to come." [Stop.] The shield was split, and the owner, from whom Fanlang had borrowed it, litigated. Fanlang paid him a Piki moko. Then he slept again with Lonfani. He slept with Maliemai. Her husband came to litigate. He had to pay twelve tallies' worth, consisting of five pigs, mokos, cloth, and tobacco. [The informant seemed unusually interested in, and [115] indiscreet about, other people's sexual misdemeanors. The interpreter privately expressed disapproval of her conversation.]

April 14, 1939

I dreamed that as my soul returned from Alurkowati, I came to a large, deep pool into which water flowed from a bamboo pipe. I drank from the pool, and as I did I saw my husband breaking off sugar cane. [This she told in a hushed and impressed tone of voice, saying it was [787] a very bad dream. I asked why, and she said that breaking off sugar cane was a sign of cutting a bamboo digging-stick to make a grave. She said that when she awoke she found that her husband felt sick and was still ill. She said, "Now that I have told my dream, shall I tell a myth?" I asked for personal material instead.]

When I was small my mother and father died. I don't remember them. I stayed then with my grandmother, whose death I remember. [734] Then I went to live with different aunts and uncles. [Stop.] I took [768] care of their children until I was old enough to think; then I made gardens. [Stop.] When I was caring for children, I said to my uncle, "If I only care for children, I shall never cultivate a field." So I began one, but he said, "Oh, you mind the children and I will finish your garden." [Stop.] Then he said his back hurt and that I could go out and cut fields with my friends while he minded the baby. He said, "If